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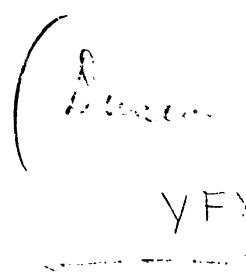

MOTIVES OF WARS:

AN ESSAY

Read before the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution.

WITH ADDITIONAL FACTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

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"I AM FOR PEACE."—O. T. Psalm cxx. 7.

"HAVE PEACE ONE WITH ANOTHER."—Mark ix. 50.

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PREFACE.

THE following Essay was read some years ago at the Literary Institution in Bath, and printed, with some others, (which were also read there,) for the amusement of my friends. Having, since that time, in the course of my reading about War, met with many curious illustrations of this subject, I commit them to the Press for the consideration of those who may condescend to give these pages a perusal.

All Europe was so much exhausted by the last wars with France under its Republic and Emperor Napoleon Buonaparte, and it has had so long a peace, with leisure for reflection on the folly, as

well as miseries, of war, that some are sanguine enough to think that men now entertain such wise opinions upon the impiety and impolicy of this evil and of duelling, as to hope we shall never see a recurrence of either.

It is to be feared that this is too flattering an opinion, in the present unequal state of civilization of different nations; as the ambition of the most barbarous and warlike may in a moment disturb the present harmony of the Continent, and bring on a renewal of such destructive conflicts as deluged it with blood in past years.

The large armies, also, which are kept up and regularly disciplined by all the great States, may operate like the powder in the hands of the Flat-head savages, which they thought would be spoiled if not immediately used, and, therefore, consi-

dered this a good justification of war without delay against their enemies, the Black-feet!

In a casual conversation in a railroad carriage on the horrors and follies of war, with one of the most eminent statesmen, lawyers, and authors, of the day, I said, "The foolish origin of wars is as curious a subject of consideration as their horrible effects." I added, "The *multis utile bellum* will account for many of them." "Yes," said he, "and the *usura vorax* of money speculators who fan the flame of war in newspapers and pamphlets. I have lately been in France, and, from what I have seen, the voracious appetite for war is considerably abated. The soldiers are absorbed into civil society, and the agriculturists and citizens have no wish for war. There are still some needy, noisy, unoccupied officers, who prate about national glory,

from want of pay and employment; but it is impossible to conceive that, in the present advanced state of civilization, Governments can be long blind to the absolute insanity of war."

This Essay and Illustrations will at least fully show how many condemnations of War have been strongly felt and strongly expressed by divines, moralists, and historians.

MOTIVES OF WARS.

I am well aware that, by a very prudent rule of our Society, we are precluded from political as well as theological discussions. I shall therefore endeavour to avoid any investigation of warfare that may infringe on the spirit of this rule, in the following Essay, by confining my views to a general consideration of the subject, and to illustrations chiefly from past ages.

No one can appreciate more highly than I do many of the virtues called forth in warfare, in compensation for the dreadful evils, physical and moral, which it produces. I know full well the many instances of heroic valour that it displays; of patriotism, of intellectual energy, of prudence, of ingenuity, of generosity, of philanthropy, even amidst scenes of carnage;—of chivalry, and that high sense of honour, which has polished the manners of mankind, and of which we may see so many instances in our own and other countries. I am well aware that as long

as the vicious passions of man are in activity, they will influence states, as well as individuals, and that, unless there be some supreme tribunal, like that of the Amphictyonic council, to control the oppression of the greater powers, and the jealousies of the weaker, wars must necessarily prevail for conquest or defence.

Offensive wars have generally originated from the ambition or territorial cupidity of governments, whether monarchical or democratical; for the latter have been not less guilty of this vice than the former. They have also proceeded from excess of population above the means or arts of obtaining food. Many wars have arisen from jealousy of the strength of a neighbouring power; many, from civil discord and contest for supreme power by rival claimants; and too many of modern wars, (alas!) from the worst and most irrational motive,—to compel an uniformity of religious faith or worship. Some have been caused by mere accidents, or causes so absurd, as to appear more like the squabbles of children, drunkards, or madmen, than of reasonable beings: and these wars will be chiefly the subject of the following Essay.

Of the first kind of wars, those springing from

the lust of power, or *territorial cupidity*, I need only advert to the extensive devastations of the Assyrian and Persian monarchs,—of the Macedonian madman, from Greece to the Indus,—of the Athenian republic, in Asia Minor and Sicily, —of Rome, the mighty oppressor of more than half the then-known world,—of Tamerlane and Kouli Khan, in the East,—of Charlemagne,—of Philip the First, in America,—of Russia, the devourer of Poland, and the jackals Austria and Prussia, who were permitted to have their share in the prey,—and, finally, of the last and one of the greatest and most fatal examples of this insane passion, the wonderful and insatiable demon of war, Napoleon Buonaparte, who paid so dearly, or rather suffered so justly, for all the horrors that he had committed, and the miseries that he had inflicted. Burke, in one of his earliest and most ingenious tracts, written ironically to ridicule Bolingbroke's philosophy, has most eloquently expatiated on this subject:

"The first accounts of mankind are but so many accounts of their butcheries. We know little of Sesostris, but that he led out of Egypt an army of 700,000 men, and overran the Mediterranean coast as far as Colchis; that in some

places he met little resistance, and of course shed not a great deal of blood; but that in others he found a people who knew the value of their liberties, and sold them dear. It will be but reasonable to allow, for his wars, at least a million of deaths; and then we shall see this conqueror (the oldest we have on the records of history) opening the scene by the destruction of at least one million of his species, unprovoked but by ambition, without any motives but pride, and cruelty, and madness, and without any benefit to himself, (for Justin expressly tells us he did not maintain his conquests,) but solely to make so many people, in such distant countries, feel experimentally how severe a scourge Providence intends for the human race, when he gives one man the power over many, and arms his naturally impotent and feeble rage with the hands of millions, who know no common principle of action but a blind obedience to the passions of their ruler.

"The next personage who figures in the tragedies of this ancient theatre is Semiramis. We see an army of three millions, employed by this martial queen, in a war against the Indians; we see the Indians arming a yet greater; and

we behold a war continued with much fury, and with various success. Supposing the losses on both sides to have been equal, and one half of her army to have fallen by sword or sickness, the account stands thus:—In this war alone (for Semiramis had other wars), in this single reign, and in this one spot of the earth, did three millions of souls expire, with all the horrid circumstances which ever attend wars, and in a quarrel in which none of the sufferers could have the least national concern!

"The Babylonian, Assyrian, Median, and Persian monarchies must have poured out seas of blood in their formation and destruction. Xerxes sacrificed two millions to his ambition; his successors, not less than four millions, in their various wars against the Scythians and Greeks. The struggle between the Macedonians and Greeks, and before that the disputes of the Greek commonwealths among themselves, for an unprofitable superiority, form one of the bloodiest scenes of history. One is astonished how such a small spot could furnish men sufficient to sacrifice to the pitiful ambition of possessing five or six thousand more acres, or two or three more villages: yet, to see the

acrimony and bitterness with which this possession was disputed between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, what armies cut off, what fleets sunk and burnt, what a number of cities sacked, and their inhabitants slaughtered and captived, —one would be induced to believe the decision of the fate of mankind at least depended upon it! But these disputes ended (as all such ever have done, and ever will do,) in a real weakness of all parties, a momentary shadow and dream of power in some one, and the subjection of all to the yoke of a stranger, who knows how to profit by their divisions. This was the case of the Greeks; and surely, from the earliest accounts of them to their absorption into the Roman empire, we cannot judge that their intestine divisions and their foreign wars consumed less than three millions of their inhabitants. What an aceldama,—what a field of blood,—Sicily has been, whilst the mode of its government was contested between the republican and tyrannical parties; and the possession struggled for between the natives, the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the Romans! You will find every page of its history dyed in blood, and blotted and confounded by tumults, rebellions, massacres,

assassinations, proscriptions, and a series of horrors beyond the histories of any other nation in the world; though the histories of all nations are made up of similar matter."

This unaccountable avarice of territory is well depicted in Zimmerman's Pride of Nations: it has been, undoubtedly, one of the strongest motives of wars. It was this that impelled the Romans to subdue more than half the civilized world; the Spaniards to overrun South America; and may have been a mixed motive in our own conquests in North America and the East Indies. In the same inducement originated the dismemberment of Poland. Maria Theresa professed to feel great scruples, both religious and political, in participating either in the disgrace or in the advantages of this transaction: but she was overruled by her son and Kaunitz; and she preferred a share in the booty to a terrible and precarious war. That armies should take the field on a mere point of honour, and potentates and kings "find glorious *quarrel in a straw*," is nothing new; but a war undertaken upon a point of honesty, a scruple of conscience, or from a general sense of the right opposed to the wrong,—this occurrence, certainly, would

have been unprecedented in history, and Maria Theresa did not set the example. When once she had acceded to the scandalous treaty, she was determined, with her characteristic prudence, to derive as much advantage from it as possible; and her demands were so unconscionable, and the share she claimed was so exorbitant, that the negotiations had nearly been broken off by her confederates: at length, a dread of premature exposure, and a fear of the consequent failure, induced her to lower her pretensions; and the treaty for the first partition of Poland was signed at Petersburgh on the third of August, 1772. We all know how effectually it was afterwards completed!

The eloquent author, to whom I am indebted for some preceding observations, after mentioning the devastations made by the Roman arms, thus continues: "Instances of this sort compose a uniform feature in history; but there have been periods when no less than universal destruction to the race of mankind seems to have been threatened; and these have probably been the *wars of hunger*, when barbarians have poured forth from the barren wildernesses of the north, to occupy more fertile regions. Such

was the irruption of the Goths, Vandals, and Huns, who poured into Italy, Spain, Greece, and Africa, carrying destruction before them as they advanced, and leaving horrid deserts everywhere behind them.

"*Vastum ubique silentium, secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta nemo exploratoribus obvius;* is what Tacitus calls *facies victoriæ.*"

Burke proceeds to enumerate the destruction caused by modern wars: he estimates the horrid effects of bigotry and avarice, in the conquest of America, to have cost at least ten millions of lives; and calculates the least number of lives lost in war, as collected in the page of History, to be thirty-six millions: and continues, "I need not mention those torrents of silent and inglorious blood which have glutted the thirsty sands of Africa, or discoloured the polar snow, or fed the forests of America for so many ages."

Those who wish to see more of what wars have been carried on by half-famished barbarians, may consult the elaborate researches of the author of the Essay on Population. He says, "One of the first causes and first impulses of war was, undoubtedly, an insufficiency of room

and food; and (greatly as the circumstances of mankind have changed since it first began) the same cause continues to operate and to produce in a similar degree the same effects. The ambition of princes would want instruments of destruction, if the distresses of the lower classes did not drive them under their standards. A recruiting sergeant always prays for a bad harvest and want of employment, otherwise a redundant population."—His account of the final destruction of Rome, by the irruption of the hungry hive of northern adventurers, is well portrayed:

"The fall of Rome was at length determined by an irresistible emigration of the Huns from east and north, which precipitated on the empire the whole body of the Goths; and the continuance of this powerful pressure on the nations of Germany seemed to prompt them to the resolution of abandoning to the fugitives of Sarmatia their woods and morasses, at least of discharging their superfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire;—an emigration of 400,000 from the same coast of the Baltic which had poured forth the myriads of Cimbri and Teutones, during the vigour of the republic.

When this host was destroyed by war and famine, other adventurers succeeded. The Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, the Burgundians, passed the Rhine, never more to retreat. The conquerors who first settled were expelled or exterminated by new invaders. Clouds of barbarians seemed to collect from all parts of the northern hemisphere, gathering fresh darkness and terror as they rolled on. The congregated bodies at last obscured the sun of Italy, and sunk the western world in night. In two centuries, from the flight of the Goths across the Danube, barbarians of various name and lineage had plundered and taken possession of Thrace, Pannonia, Gaul, Britain, Spain, Africa, and Italy. The most horrible devastations, and incredible destruction of the human species, accompanied these rapid conquests; and famine and pestilence, which always march in the train of war, when it ravages with inconsiderate cruelty, raged in every part of Europe.

"The historians of the times, who beheld these scenes of desolation, labour and are at a loss for expressions to describe them: but, beyond the power of language, the numbers and destructive violence of these barbarous invaders

were evinced by the total change which took place in the face of Europe.

"These tremendous efforts, so long and so deeply felt throughout the fairest portions of the earth, may be traced in a great degree to the simple cause of the superiority of the power of population to the means of subsistence."

As to the wars which have sprung from the *jealousy of rival nations*, we cannot have more striking examples than in those of Sparta and Athens, of Rome and Carthage, of France and England. We know how destructive these revengeful contentions were to the two former rival States: God grant that their examples may operate as a warning to France and England,—may convince us of the madness of wasting our strength in mutual destruction, and teach us to contend in the arts of peace rather than those of war, and to confine our rivalry to science and manufactures!

The wars of *rival candidates for power* have been some of the most afflicting and most sanguinary scourges of the human race. How revolting to humanity were those of Sylla and Marius, of Julius Cæsar and Pompey, of Antony and Augustus; and, not to look far from

home, how dreadful were those of William and Harold, of Stephen and Maud, of the White and Red Roses, of Cromwell and the Stuarts, and last (though much the least in destruction and suffering) were those to secure the throne of Great Britain to our present royal family, and the blessings of a pure religion, with the benefits of our improved constitution, to our fellow-countrymen!

The most horrible of all wars, those which have excited some of the most hateful passions of mankind, have been *religious wars.* These seem to have but little affected the western world before the time of the Mahometan invasion of Spain and other parts of Europe; for, though there were religious persecutions of the Christians by the Romans, and conflicts of different sects of Christians, no extensive plan of warfare for the establishment of a religious faith had taken place since the Christian era, before the Mahometans spread desolation over the east, and part of the western world, to propagate their insane imposture.

How strange was the fury, and how dreadful the carnage of the wars of the crusades! and yet to them (since, by the merciful appointment

of Providence, good often springs out of evil, in this world,) we owe the first seeds of our civilization. Constantinople was the general place of rendezvous of the Christian armies in their way to Palestine, and on their return thence. In that city some remains of literature and science were preserved; and for many ages it was the great emporium of trade, where some relish was retained for the precious commodities and curious manufactures of India. Though the object of the crusades was conquest, and not commerce, and though the issue of them proved unfortunate, their commercial effects were both beneficial and permanent.

I will not dwell on the melancholy picture of the religious wars of Germany between protestants and papists, or on the still more odious warfare of the savage duke of Alva in Belgium, or the contests of huguenots and catholics in France, or those in which so many lives were sacrificed at different times in England and Scotland; although these wars were so mixed up with political causes, as to be not less impelled by contests for power than by religious animosities.

Anquetil, in his "Motifs des Guerres," pub-

lished at Paris in 1796, gives the following curious analysis:

"Since the famous peace of Westphalia, in 1648, which was decreed to be 'perpetual and irrevocable,' to the peace of 1783 (a space of 135 years), France had seventy years of war and sixty-five of peace; and therefore an excess of calamities above tranquil happiness of five years. Of these wars, five were wars of family *(i. e.,* to support the family of the French king); four were wars of ambition, pride, obstinacy, and revenge; and two were for commercial interests.

"The first of the 'family wars' was undertaken by Louis XIV. to support the claims of Maria Theresa his wife on Brabant and other parts of the succession opened by the death of Philip IV. her father. The second was to place his grandson Philip on the throne of Spain, to which he was called in right of his grandmother and by the will of the late king. The third was undertaken by Philip V., at the suggestion of Alberoni, to procure the regency of France, that he might secure the succession to the throne in case of the death of Louis XV. The fourth and fifth were the family quarrels of the houses of Austria and Bourbon, to support the prag-

matic sanction, and to procure establishments for the children of Philip V. and his wife Elizabeth Farnese.

"The war of 'pure obstinacy' was that which Philip IV. prolonged eleven years after the peace of Westphalia, by which he only increased his losses and his sufferings.

"The 'war of pride' was that of Louis XIV. against the Dutch, for having dared to resist his power. To this might be added that of Louis XV. against Prussia, in concert with Austria, for having declared its pretensions with such *hauteur*, and maintained them with such firmness, as shocked the vanity of these great powers.

"The 'war of ambition' was that raised by William III. from jealousy of France. Except in this last war, the English had no direct interest in those in which they were engaged on the continent, as enemies of France.

"In her war, which was pretended to be to settle the limits of Canada, the real object was to reduce the navy of France, which was beginning to recover strength: and, in return, it was not for the purpose of severing the American colonies from Great Britain, or to give liberty to the Americans, that France engaged in the

American war; but to deprive the British navy of the resources of a whole continent, well supplied with ports, which had been but too serviceable to the English in all their wars with France."

Cobden says, in his Essay on Russia; "The conflicts in which this country has during the last 150 years involved itself, have, in almost every instance, been undertaken in behalf of our *commerce;* yet we hesitate not to declare, there is no one instance recorded in which a favourable tariff or a beneficial commercial treaty has been extorted from an unwilling enemy at the point of the sword. On the contrary, every restriction that embarrasses the trade of the whole world; all existing commercial jealousies between nations; the debts that oppress the countries of Europe; the incalculable waste, owing to the misdirected labour and capital of communities: these, and a thousand other evils that are now actually thwarting and oppressing commerce, are all the consequences of wars."

Could we analyze the motives of some of the most destructive wars, they might in all probability, in many instances, be traceable to the *military vanity of great generals*, to their pride

in the consciousness of superior skill in the tactics of war. How much of the wars of Alexander, of Hannibal, of Crassus, Lucullus, Cæsar, Pompey, and (to come down to modern times) of Charles XII., Frederic of Prussia, might be ascribed to this motive! Even the Duke of Marlborough's military ambition has been considered the motive for Queen Anne's war in the Netherlands.

The destructive war carried on by France against Egypt was, as Bourrienne avows, proposed by Buonaparte, to sustain his own power and military reputation; and was conceded by the directory, in hopes of ridding themselves of an ambitious and dangerous general.

"In the position," says he, "in which France stood with respect to Europe, after the treaty of Campo Formio, the directory, far from pressing, or even facilitating this expedition, ought to have opposed it. A victory on the Adige would have been far better for France than one on the Nile. From all that I know, the wish to get rid of an ambitious young man, whose popularity excited envy, triumphed over the evident danger of removing for an indefinite period an excellent army, and the more probable loss of the French

fleet. As for Buonaparte, he was well assured that nothing remained for him but to choose between that hazardous enterprise and his certain ruin. Egypt was, he thought, the right place to maintain his reputation, and to add fresh glory to his name."

Buonaparte said, in 1798—"I have tried everything. They do not want me (probably alluding to the office of director, to which he aspired, but was not of sufficient age); I ought to overthrow them, and make myself king: but it will not do *yet*. The nobles will never consent to it. I have tried my ground. The time is not yet come; I should be alone: *but I will dazzle them again.*" For which purpose 60,000 lives were to be sacrificed, and those of a people who had not and could not injure the French.

"'My power,' said Buonaparte, 'depends on my glory, and my glory on my victories. My power would fall were I not to support it by new glory and new victories. Conquest has made me what I am, and conquest alone can maintain me.' This was, then, and always continued, his predominant idea; and that which prompted him continually to scatter the seeds of war through Europe. He thought that if

he remained stationary, he would fall; and he was tormented with the desire of advancing further forward. Not to do something great and decided was, in his opinion, to do nothing. A newly-born government, said he to me, must dazzle and astonish. When it ceases to do so, it falls. It was vain to look for rest from a man who was restlessness itself."

Bourrienne makes these just reflections on the empty results of the French victories:—"It is well known that by the treaty of Campo Formio the two belligerent powers made peace at the expense of the republic of Venice; which had nothing to do with the quarrel in the first instance, and which only interfered at a late period, probably against her own inclination, and impelled by the force of inevitable circumstances. But what has been the result of this great political spoliation? A portion of the Venetian territory was adjudged to the Cisalpine republic: it is now in the possession of Austria. Another considerable portion, and the capital itself, fell to the lot of Austria, in compensation for the Belgic provinces and Lombardy. Austria has now retaken Lombardy, and the additions then made to it; and Belgium is in

the possession of the house of Orange. France obtained Corfu, and some of the Ionian isles: these now belong to England.

"Romulus never thought he was founding Rome for Goths and priests. Alexander did not foresee that the Egyptian city would belong to the Turks. Nor did Constantine strip Rome for the benefit of Mahomet II. Why, then, fight for some paltry villages?"

"If, when master of the power which was offered to him," says the same author, "Buonaparte had followed the principles he previously professed, and for which he had heretofore fought and conquered; if he had defended, with all the influence of his glory, that liberty which the nation claimed, and which the age demanded; if he had rendered France as happy and free as he rendered her glorious,—posterity could not have refused him the very first place amongst the great men at whose side he will be laid. But, not having done for the welfare of mankind what he undertook for his own glory, posterity will judge of him by what he achieved. He will have full credit for his victories, but *not for his conquests*, which produced no good results, and not one of which he preserved. His

claim to the title of one of the greatest captains that ever lived will be undisputed; but he left France less than when she was intrusted to him, and less than she had been left by Louis XIV.

"His brilliant campaigns in Italy gave Venice to Austria, and the Ionian isles to England. His Egyptian expedition gave Malta to England, destroyed our navy, and cost us 22,000 men. The civil code is the only one of Buonaparte's acts that can be sanctioned by philosophy and reason. All his other laws were null, and rested only on his existence. Did he, either in his character of consul or emperor, contribute to the happiness of France? Posterity will answer in the negative. Indeed, if we weigh in one scale all our victories and all our glory; and, in the other, Europe in Paris, and the disgraceful treaty of 1815, with its accessaries and consequences,—it will be seen on what side the balance will turn."

It is a curious subject of reflection, how many of the most bloody wars in Europe have ended, as to their objects, precisely at the point where the contending parties were when these wars were commenced. Thus, the Russian war with Turkey cost the lives of 130,000 Austrians,

200,000 Russians, and 300,000 Turks; the destruction of many cities, the miseries of famine and pestilence in those provinces which were the seat of the war, and the expenditure of millions of treasure: in other respects, the countries engaged in it remained nearly in the same state as before. The result of the seven years' war between Austria, Russia, and France, is thus told:—"At the peace of Hubertsburg, all places and prisoners were given up; not a foot of territory was gained or lost by either party; Silesia remained in possession of Prussia; the political affairs of Germany remained in precisely the same state as before the war: but Saxony and Bohemia had been desolated; Prussia almost depopulated; and more than 500,000 men had fallen in battle. France, to whom the Austrian alliance seems destined ever to be fatal, lost in this war the flower of her armies, half the coined money of the kingdom, almost all her possessions in America, and in the West Indies her marine, her commerce, and her credit; and those disorders were fomented, those disasters precipitated, which at length produced the revolution, and brought the daughter of Maria Theresa to the scaffold."

Another curious view of war is the comparative smallness of the number killed on one side, compared with that of the enemy. At the battle of Marathon, the Persians had above 100,000 engaged; the Athenians not 30,000. Above 6000 of the former are said to have been killed, and not more than 190 of the latter. At the battle of Cressy, 100,000 French were defeated by 30,000 English, who are said to have lost only 63 men. The battles of Poictiers and Agincourt were fought with a very disproportionate loss on the side of the English.

Having given these more serious views of wars, I now come to my last head, the *wars of accident and frivolity.* It may appear very extraordinary that, on so grave a subject, anything could be found to excite a smile: but it so happens in life, that, at times, *inter amara surgit amœni aliquid;* and ludicrous verses are found even on sepulchral monuments.

The private, frivolous, or accidental causes of war are, of course, to be found among the *guerres particulières* of small powers, or *guerres du roi*, in contradistinction to the *guerres d'état;* that is, in those where private interests, bad

passions, and the caprice of individuals, have produced them, rather than any grand national objects. To prevent such wars, which were continually breaking out among the great feudatories of France, the clergy contrived, in the eleventh century, to establish the *trève de Dieu*, or truce of God; by which some check was put to the unceasing warfare of the nobles, some respite and security procured for the unfortunate peasantry. From Wednesday at sunset till sunrise on Monday, it was ordained that all military operations and violence should cease. Feast days were included amongst those devoted to peace, as well as the long intervals of fast and penitence which occur in the Roman church. The persons of all professing a religious life were rendered sacred; and (what perhaps shows the humanity and wisdom of the measure more than any of the regulations) all implements of husbandry were put under the protection of the truce.

Many petty wars have arisen from as ludicrous sources as the duel about capers and anchovies. A gentleman resented the scepticism of his friend, when he had declared that he had seen an acre covered with anchovies in the east; but,

after he had wounded him, recollected, in time to make an apology before a second shot, the name which he had forgotten. It was *capers*, and not "anchovies," that he *saw*, and intended to have *said*.

All who are acquainted with English history must have read of the origin of a sanguinary war between William the Conqueror and Philip of France, which was occasioned by a witticism of the latter king. Hearing that William, who was become very corpulent, had been some weeks confined by sickness, Philip said, he hoped his brother of England would soon be delivered of his great belly, and be able to come abroad. This sarcasm being repeated to William, put him in a violent passion, and made him swear "by the brightness and resurrection of the Lord" (his usual oath), that, as soon as he came abroad, he would light up a thousand fires in France for the joy of his recovery. Nor did he neglect to execute this threat; for, in the last week in July, 1087, when the corn and fruits were all ripe, he entered France at the head of a powerful army, destroying everything as he advanced; and, having taken the town of Mantes, he commanded it to be set on fire, and

reduced to ashes. But here a stop was put to his destructive career; for, being overheated by the warmth of the weather and the flames of the town, and having received a bruise in his belly by the pommel of his saddle, he was seized with a slow fever, of which he died at the abbey of St. Germain, near Rouen; and thus paid the forfeit of his sanguinary retort to a mere witticism.

As a parallel to this, we may mention the jest of the dauphin of France, which proved so fatal to the French at the battle of Agincourt. It is thus described by our immortal dramatist. The ambassador of France says—

"Your highness, lately sending into France,
Did claim some dukedoms; but the prince, our master,
Sends you a present meeter for your spirit,—
A ton of tennis balls."

King Henry the Fifth answers—

"We're glad the dauphin is so pleasant with us.
His present and your pains we thank you for.
When we have matched our rackets to these balls,
We will in France (by God's grace) play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard."*

* But Cowper says—

"War is a game which, were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at."

In 700 years we have had 366 years of warfare with France.

One of the early frivolous wars in France was that waged by Hugh Capet on the Count de Mercœur, to recover the relics of Saint Riquier, that had been stolen by the Count. Hugh Capet compelled him to surrender them; and bore the venerable remains on his royal shoulders to the abbey of the saint!

In a work lately published, *The Scottish Gael*, there is this account of an absurd but fatal origin of a war between the Clanranalds and the Frasers. The young chief of Clanranald, on his return to take possession of his estate, observing the profuse quantity of cattle that had been slaughtered to celebrate his arrival, very unfortunately remarked, that a few hens might have satisfied his purpose. This exposure of a narrow mind, and inconsiderate display of indifference to the feelings of his people, were fatal. "We will have nothing to do with a hen chief," said the indignant clansmen, and immediately raised one of his brothers to the dignity. So highly did the Highlanders value the qualifications of the commander, that, in the deposition of one whom they deemed unworthy, they risked the evil of a deadly feud. On this occasion, the Frasers, among whom Clanranald had been fos-

tered, took arms to revenge his disgrace: but they were, after a desperate battle, defeated, with great slaughter; and the unhappy hen chief perished on the field.

One of the Swiss wars is said to have arisen from the mistake of a word, *plappert;* which, taken in its more offensive sense, called forth swords instead of laughter.

There have been many private sources of war, as the revenge of the violation of noble women, which (Herodotus says) was the first occasion of wars; and examples of it are recorded in sacred writ.* From such causes arose the war of Troy, and that which ended in destruction of the Tarquins. Hence also the Sicilian vespers. One Drouette, a Frenchman, having taken some liberties with a Sicilian woman, a report of this circumstance was soon spread among the people; and, a general insurrection being excited, all the French in Palermo were massacred, except one gentleman, a native of Provence, named Guillaume Porcellet, who had gained universal esteem by his virtuous conduct. The flames soon spread to the other cities of Sicily, and in every one of them the French were attacked in

* Genesis xxxiv.; Judges xix. xx.

the same manner. The people of Messina declared themselves the last; and it was not till the 29th of April that they shook off the yoke, after making choice of Baldwin as their leader. It is not true that this event took place at the same hour through all Sicily.

In the life of Marguerite de Montmorenci, princess of Condé, the author relates that she was engaged to Bassompierre; but Henry IV. of France fell in love with her, at a fancy ball, whilst she was personating the character of Diana. The amorous monarch, thinking he could secure her better by breaking off her match with Bassompierre, and making her marry the gouty Prince de Condé, who was always hunting, brought about this alliance. The Prince, jealous of Henry, left France, and went into the Netherlands. Henry tried persuasions and menaces, to bring him and her back to court; and sent an ambassador to the Netherlands to compel Austria to order them to quit that country. When this was refused by Austria, Henry prepared for a war with the greatest vigour; which was only prevented by his assassination.

Swift, in his voyage to the Houynhyms, gives

the following humorous account of the origin of wars:—"He asked me what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another. I answered, that they were innumerable; but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes, the ambition of princes, who never think that they have land or people enough to govern: sometimes, the corruption of ministers, who engage their masters in a war, in order to stifle or divert the clamour of their subjects against their evil administration. Difference of opinion hath cost many lives: for instance, whether flesh be bread, or bread flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine; whether whistling be a vice or a virtue; whether it be better to kiss a post, or throw it into the fire; what is the best colour for a coat, whether black, white, red, or grey, and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean; with many more. Neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by *difference of opinion*, especially if it be in things indifferent.

"Sometimes, the war between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend

to any right. Sometimes, one prince quarrelleth with another for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes, a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong; sometimes, because he is too weak: sometimes, our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want; and we both fight till they take ours or give us theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of war to invade a country, after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions amongst themselves. It is justifiable to enter into war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land that would render our dominions round and complete. If a prince sends forces into a nation where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize or reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires the assistance of another to secure him against invasion, that the assistant, when he hath driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came

to relieve. Alliance by blood or marriage is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer their kindred is, the greater the disposition to quarrel. Poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud: and pride and hunger will ever be at variance."

It has been asserted that one of Louis the Fourteenth's wars in Germany was undertaken at the suggestion of Louvois, to divert that monarch's interference with the minister's architectural operations. This reminds me of Sterne's account of one of Francis the First's wars with Switzerland—

"As Francis the First was, one winterly night, warming himself over the embers of a wood fire, and talking with his first minister of sundry things for the good of the state,—'It would not be amiss,' said the king, stirring up the embers with his cane, 'if this good understanding between us and Switzerland was a little strengthened.' 'There is no end, sire,' replied the minister, 'in giving money to these people: they would swallow up the treasury of France.' 'Pooh! pooh!' answered the king, 'there are more ways, Monsieur le Premier, of bribing states besides that of giving money; I'll pay

Switzerland the honour of standing godfather for my next child.' 'Your majesty,' said the minister, 'in so doing, would have all the grammarians in Europe upon your back. Switzerland, as a republic, being a female, can in no construction be godfather.' 'She may be godmother,' replied Francis, hastily: 'so announce my intentions by a courier to-morrow morning.'

"'I am astonished,' said Francis the First, (that day fortnight,) speaking to the minister as he entered the closet, 'that we have had no answer from Switzerland.' 'Sire, I wait upon you this moment,' said Monsieur le Premier, 'to lay before you my dispatches upon that business.' 'They take it kindly?' said the king. 'They do, sire,' replied the minister, 'and have the highest sense of the honour your majesty has done them: but the republic, as godmother, claims her right in this case of naming the child.' 'In all reason,' quoth the king. 'She will christen him Francis, or Henry, or Louis, or some name that she knows will be agreeable to us?' 'Your majesty is deceived,' replied the minister. 'I have this hour received a dispatch from our resident, with the determination of the republic on that point also.' 'And what name

has the republic fixed on for the dauphin?' 'Shadrach Meshach and Abednego,' replied the minister. 'By Saint Peter's girdle, I will have nothing to do with the Swiss!' cried Francis the First, pulling up his breeches, and walking hastily across the floor. 'Your majesty,' replied the minister, calmly, 'cannot bring yourself off.' 'We'll pay them money,' said the king. 'Sire, there are not 60,000 crowns in the treasury,' answered the minister. 'I'll pawn the best jewel in my crown,' quoth Francis the First. 'Your honour stands pawned already in this matter,' answered Monsieur le Premier. 'Then, Monsieur le Premier,' said the king, 'by heaven! we'll *go to war* with them.'"

This is the *ultima ratio regum*, which influenced the king of Borneo: who, having but one white elephant, coveted one of those possessed by his brother sovereign of Ceylon. He therefore sent an ambassador, to request that his Ceylonese majesty would send him a white elephant as speedily as possible. This request was civilly refused; as the king of Ceylon had but two himself, and had no inclination to part with one of them. What better pretext for war than such an ungenerous refusal? The soldiers

of Borneo are taught to consider the Ceylonese as their most determined and bitter enemies, and are hurried on to their destruction, and, if possible, to their extermination: and all this sanguinary fury to obtain a white elephant!

The history of Prussia is replete with accounts of foolish wars. Frederick the Great waged continual war with the Emperor of Germany, who saved his life by intercession with his father, who had condemned him to be executed. Having, in one of his satirical poems, thus written—

"Evitez de Bernis la stérile abondance,"

the cardinal could not pardon the expression, and France suffered from the insulted pride of the poet: for this verse is said to have provoked the seven years' war.

One of the Paris newspapers called on the French government to attack the Austrians in Italy, on this important ground—that the Austrians had stopped the entrance of Bologna sausages and Parmesan cheeses into their town.

It is affirmed that Buckingham's war with France, under Charles I., was in consequence of Louis XIII., or cardinal Richelieu, not consenting to his extraordinary attentions to Anne of Austria, the queen of Louis, and refusing him

as a visiter at the French court; whereupon he swore that he would go there in spite of them, and induced his sovereign to wage war with France.

The Dutch war, under Charles II., was, according to the expression of Evelyn, occasioned (or rather provoked) by severe caricatures and political libels on the English monarch.

As frivolous causes have sometimes produced a *peace.* Witness that of the quarrel of the haughty Sarah duchess of Marlborough, whose rage against Mrs. Masham, when she spilled a hot cup of coffee over her gown, produced the recall of the duke of Marlborough, and the peace of Utrecht!

The petty feelings of ambition and cupidity, inherent in the mind of man, were never (perhaps) more strongly exemplified than in the war between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, to secure a strip of land commanding the Plate River, called the Banda Oriental. "The Brazilians saw the prosperity of the country totally arrested, its resources wasted, its commerce impeded, its agriculture neglected, and its population diminishing, in this absurd contest: yet every individual whom I conversed with," says Mr. Walsh,

"would rather have contrived to suffer all these evils, than that a remote and small fragment should be broken from their vast dominions; which was not their own, and which, after all, was not to form any portion of a rival state, but to become independent like themselves. Every little shopkeeper in Rio thought himself degraded by the dismemberment of the empire, though it had been only a few years in existence; and it added another motive of dislike to the English, under whose auspices the treaty of peace was concluded."

It is said that Napoleon might have preserved his crown, and saved the lives of many thousands of his soldiers, had he not haggled to retain some insignificant town, which the allies would not permit France to possess.

In an amusing work, lately published, there is the following curious account of the wars of the Black-foot and Flat-head American Indians:—"While pride, policy, ambition, self-preservation, or the love of aggrandizement, often deluge the civilized world with Christian blood; the only cause assigned by the natives for their perpetual warfare is the love of buffalo. There are extensive plains to the eastward of

the mountains, frequented in the summer and autumnal months by numerous herds of buffalos. Hither the rival tribes repair to hunt those animals; that they may procure as much of their meat as will supply them until the succeeding season. In these excursions they often meet; and the most sanguinary conflicts follow. The Black-feet lay claim to all that part of the country at the foot of the mountain, which is most frequented by the buffalos; and allege that the Flat-heads, by resorting thither to hunt, are intruders whom they are bound to oppose on all occasions. The latter, on the contrary, assert that their forefathers had always claimed and exercised the rights of hunting on these debatable lands; and that, while one of their warriors remained alive, the right should not be relinquished. The consequences of these continual wars are dreadful, particularly to the Flat-heads; who, being the weaker in numbers, are generally the greater sufferers."

Have we not a parallel to these wars, in those which have been waged by European nations on *debatable fishing-banks*, and *(magnis componere parva)* in the continual jealousies, animosities, and litigations of neighbouring lords of manors!

To revert to the frivolous causes of war in a more civilized state, we may contemplate that which took place in 1787, between Turkey and Russia. It originated in the personal ambition of prince Potemkin; who, loaded with titles and honours, had not yet received the order of St. George, because, in order to wear the decoration of this military order, it was necessary to have commanded an army, and have gained a victory. Thus, to gratify the puerile fancy of a favourite minister, for an additional star and ribbon, a war was commenced, which cost the lives of some millions of men!

I have said that there were some compensating benefits amidst the evils of war.

It acts as a draught for many of the most violent and mischievous subjects in a state; who, if not employed in foreign warfare, would be shedding the life-blood of their parent country in civil tumults.* It raises and disciplines a

* In England we have had 30 conspiracies; 30 great riots; and 30 invasions, of which seven have been successful. (Tablet of Memory.) Lord Kames says, "There is another advantage of war that ought not to be overlooked: it serves to drain the country of idlers, few of whom are innocent, and many not a little mischievous. In the years 1759 and 1766, when we were at war with France, there were but 29 criminals condemned at the Old Bailey. In the years 1770 and 1771, when we were at peace with all the world, the criminals condemned there amounted to 151."

body of men, who can be readily brought into action, to suppress the destructive fury of popular insurrections. It calls forth also much activity of intellect, much ingenuity of mechanical contrivance, and the exercise of many noble virtues. "Il ne faut pas se faire un monstre du plus beau des malheurs—de la guerre," says the prince de Ligne. In a short commentary on this very fine expression, he observes with truth that war, with all its evils, is a school of the highest virtues.

This is a favourite theme of Lord Kames; and I will let him speak for himself:—"Wars give exercise to the elevated virtues of courage, generosity, and disinterestedness; which are all attended with consciousness of merit and of dignity. Friendship is, in peace, cool and languid; but, in a war for glory, exerts the whole fire of its enthusiasm. The long and bloody war, sustained by the Netherlands against the tyrant of Spain, made even Dutchmen heroes. They forced their way to the Indies, during the hottest period of the war; and gained, by commerce, what supported them against their ferocious enemy. What have they gained since by peace? Their immense commerce has eradi-

cated patriotism, and every appetite but for wealth. Had their violated rights been restored without a struggle, they would have continued a nation of frogs and fishermen.* The Swiss, by continual struggles for liberty against the potent house of Austria, became a brave and active people, feared and courted by neighbouring princes. Industry, manufactures, and wealth, are the fruits of peace: but advert to what follows. Luxury, a never-failing concomitant of wealth, is a slow poison, that debilitates men, and renders them incapable of any great effort. Courage, magnanimity, heroism, come to be ranked among the miracles that are supposed never to have existed but in fable; and the fashionable properties of sensuality, avarice, cunning, and dissimulation, engross the mind. In a word, man, by constant prosperity and peace, degenerates into a mean, impotent, and sensual animal."

In another part of his very amusing work, Lord Kames gives the following instances of the virtues of humanity exhibited in war:—"Demetrius, having restored liberty to the Athenians,

* We know how gallantly they have fought, since this was written, at the battle of Waterloo.

was treated by them as a demi-god; and yet afterwards, in his adversity, found their gates shut against him. Upon a change of fortune he laid siege to Athens, resolving to chastise that rebellious and ungrateful people. He assembled the inhabitants in the theatre, surrounding them with his army, as preparing for a total massacre. Their terror was great, but short: he pronounced their pardon, and bestowed on them 100,000 measures of wheat. The emperor Charles the Fifth, after losing 30,000 men at the siege of Metz, made an ignominious retreat; leaving his camp filled with sick and wounded and dying. Though the war between him and the king of France was carried on with unusual rancour, yet the duke of Guise, governor of the town, exerted in those barbarous times a degree of humanity, that would make a splendid figure even at present: he ordered plenty of food for those who were dying of hunger; appointed surgeons to attend the sick and wounded; removed, to the adjacent villages, those who could bear motion; and admitted the remainder into the hospitals, that he had fitted up for his own soldiers. Those who recovered their health were sent home, with

money to defray the expense of the journey."*

Sir Walter Raleigh—who was no advocate for war in general; whose ambition was not for conquest, but security; who proscribed all wanton outrage, or unnecessary invasions on the territory of another power, as idle and wicked—says, "It may be affirmed that the number of those that have been slaughtered by their fellow creatures exceeds the number of inhabitants that were at any one time living upon the face of the earth; yet very few of this infinite number, untimely slain, were ever *masters of the grounds of the disputes for which they suffered*, or the true reasons of their being led to battle; the truth with much artifice being kept from all but those who were parties to the designs resolved on. What deluded wretches, then, have a great part of mankind been, who have either yielded them-

* In that very interesting work, the Life of Wilberforce, we find that after the 'untoward' but necessary attack of Copenhagen, a neutral power, to secure her fleet from falling into the hands of the French, Mr. Wilberforce proposed a subscription to assist the poorer of the individual sufferers to rebuild their houses. On which the biographer remarks: "It is delightful to see the rugged countenance of necessary war thus brightened by acts of Christian charity, which, by their healing influence, repress the brutalizing effects of conflict, blessing equally the giver and receiver." (Vol. iii. p. 348.)

selves to be slain in causes which, if truly known, their hearts would abhor; or have been the bloody executioners of other men's ambition! It is a hard thing to be slain for what a man should never willingly fight for: yet few soldiers have laid themselves down on the bed of honour under better circumstances."

"Is not a victory the most rapturous delight imaginable?" said a Parisian lady, after the battle of Waterloo. "Madam," said the duke of Wellington, "on the contrary; it is the most melancholy sensation imaginable—except that of a defeat." The joy of triumph must necessarily be embittered by the loss of friends; and after the ardour of battle is over, by the horrors that must shock the feelings under cooler contemplation. Defeat adds the sense of dishonour and disgrace to those miseries, and therefore is an aggravation of calamity.

We, in this fortunate island, have been happily long exempt from the worst effects of warfare, the indiscriminate destruction of families, of houses, and of all kinds of property; and the most bitter fruits that those, who are not actually engaged in warfare, experience from it are taxes. *Qui non luit in persona, luit in crumena.* We are

indebted to a well-known writer in the Edinburgh Review,* for a very true, though a very laughable picture, of the consequences of being too fond of engaging in foreign wars. "*Taxes* upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot. *Taxes* upon every thing which it is pleasant to hear, see, feel, taste, or smell. *Taxes* upon light, warmth, and locomotion. *Taxes* upon every thing on the earth, and every thing under the earth; on every thing that comes from abroad, or is grown at home. *Taxes* on the raw material, and on every thing that is added to it by the industry of man. *Taxes* on the sauce that pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health; on the ermine that decorates the judge, and the rope that hangs the criminal; the poor man's sauce, and the rich man's spice; on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribands of the bride; at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay. The schoolboy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bri-

* In the same publication there is a discussion on the probability of wars ceasing with the advanced state of the civilisation of mankind; and the reviewer gives it as his opinion, that there is little probability that wars will ever cease from this cause, considering that there are too many interests engaged in their continuance.

dle on a taxed road. The dying Englishman, pouring out his medicine, for which he has paid seven per cent., into a spoon for which he has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself on a chintz bed, for which he has paid twenty-two per cent., makes his will on an eightpenny stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary, who has paid 100*l.* for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then taxed from three to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are paid for burying him in the chancel. His virtues are handed down to posterity in taxed marble, and he is then gathered to his forefathers to be taxed no more."

Washington Irving has good-humouredly satirized the national propensity of Englishmen for foreign politics and foolish wars, in the well-known sketch of John Bull.

"He is," says that exquisite writer, "a busy-minded personage, who thinks not merely for himself and family, but for all the country round; and is most generously disposed to be everybody's champion. He is continually volunteering his services to settle his neighbour's affairs, and takes it in great dudgeon if they engage in any matter of consequence without asking his advice; though

he seldom engages in any friendly office of the kind, without finishing by getting into a squabble with all parties, and then railing bitterly at their ingratitude. He unluckily took lessons in his youth in the noble science of defence; and having accomplished himself in the use of his limbs and weapons (*i.e.* standing armies and navies) and becoming a master at boxing and cudgel-play, he has had a troublesome life of it ever since.

"He cannot hear of a quarrel with the most distant of his neighbours, but he begins incontinently to fumble with the head of his cudgel, and consider whether interest or honour does not require that he should meddle in their broils. Indeed he has extended his relations of pride and policy so completely over the whole country, (*i.e.* by quadripartite treaties and quintuple alliances,) that no event can take place without infringing some of his finely spun rights and dignities. Couched in his little domain, with those filaments stretching forth in every direction, he is like some choleric, bottle-bellied old spider, who has woven his web over a whole chamber; so that a fly cannot buzz, or a breeze blow, without startling his repose, and causing him to sally forth

wrathfully from his den. Though really a good-tempered, good-hearted old fellow at the bottom; yet he is singularly fond of being in the midst of contention. It is one of his peculiarities, however, that he only relishes the beginning of an affray; he always goes into a fight with alacrity, but comes out of it grumbling, even when victorious; and, though no one fights with more obstinancy to carry a contested point, yet when the battle is over, and he comes to a reconciliation, he is so much taken up with the mere shaking of hands, that he is apt to let his antagonists pocket all they have been contending about. It is not fighting, therefore, that he should be so much on his guard against, as making friends. All that I wish is, that John's present troubles may teach him more prudence in future; that he may cease to distress his mind about other people's affairs; that he may give up the fruitless attempt to promote the good of his neighbours, and the peace and happiness of the world, by dint of the cudgel; that he may remain quietly at home; gradually get his house into repair; cultivate his rich estate according to his fancy; husband his income, if he thinks proper; and bring his unruly children into order if he can."

Lord Kames, in summing up the advantages and disadvantages of war, says: "Though I declare against perpetual peace, perpetual war is still more my aversion. The condition of Europe was deplorable in the dark ages, when vassals assumed the privilege of waging war without consent of the sovereign. Deadly feuds prevailed universally, and threatened dissolution of all government: the human race never were in a more woful condition; but anarchy never fails, soon or late, to rectify itself, which effeminacy, produced by long peace, never does. Revenge and cruelty, it is true, are the fruits of war; but so are likewise firmness of mind and undaunted courage; which are exerted with better will in behalf of virtue than of revenge. The crusades were what first gave a turn to the fierce manners of our ancestors. A religious enterprise uniting numbers formerly at variance, enlarged the sphere of social affection, and sweetened the manners of Christians to one another.

"These crusades filled Europe with heroes, who at home were ready for any new enterprise that promised laurels. Moved with the horror of deadly feuds, they joined in bonds of chivalry for succouring the distressed, for

redressing wrongs, and for protecting widows and orphans.

"Such heroism enflamed every one who was fond of glory and warlike achievements. Chivalry was courted by men of birth; and even kings were proud to be of the order. An institution, blending together valour, religion, and gallantry, was wonderfully agreeable to a martial people; and humanity and gentleness could not but prevail in a society whose profession it was to succour every person in distress. As glory and honour were the only wished-for recompense, chivalry was esteemed the school of honour, of truth, and of fidelity. Thus truth, without disguise, and a scrupulous adherence to promises, became the distinguishing virtues of a gentleman. The true spirit of chivalry produced a signal reformation in the manners of Europe. To what other cause can we so justly ascribe the point of honour, and that humanity in war which characterise modern manners? Are peace, luxury, and selfishness, capable of producing such effects?"

Under the influence of sober piety, (we may answer,) good religion, and good education, we trust that all these good effects will be more

constantly and effectively produced by *peace* than warfare.

"Upon the whole, then," says the same writer, perpetual war is bad, because it converts men into beasts of prey: perpetual peace is worse, because it converts men into beasts of burden. To prevent such woful degeneracy, on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means; and these means are adopted by Providence."

This I conceive to be false reasoning. War has a tendency to produce rather slavery than freedom. A great warrior is always a despot; and although this country and others may have produced some glorious exceptions, soldiers are much more disposed to submit to arbitrary power than to be the champions of liberty. As to warfare being *adopted* by Providence, this is to attribute the effects of our vices and follies to the will of the Deity. He has permitted wars, as the effect of our free will; but it is impiety to say that he has 'adopted' them as a part of his government of the universe.

As I believe nothing has been said on the subject of war more truly, more forcibly, and more poetically, than what is given in the follow-

ing verses of my friend, the late public orator of Oxford, Mr. Crowe, I shall conclude with these lines, written for the Duke of Portland's installation.

In evil hour, and with unhallow'd voice,
Profaning the pure gift of poesy,
Did he begin to sing, he first who sang
Of arms, and combats, and the proud array
Of warriors on th' embattled plain, and rais'd
Th' aspiring spirit to hopes of fair renown,
By deeds of violence! for since that time
Th' imperious victor, oft unsatisfied
With bloody spoil and tyrannous conquest, dares
To challenge fame and honour; and too oft,
The poet bending low to lawless power,
Hath paid unseemly reverence: yea, and brought
Streams clearest of th' Aonian fount, to wash
Blood-stain'd ambition.
If the stroke of war
Fell certain on the guilty head, none else;
If they that make the cause might taste th' effect,
And drink themselves the bitter cup they mix:
Then might the bard, though child of peace, delight
To twine fresh wreaths around the conqueror's brow,
Or haply strike the high-ton'd harp, to swell
The trumpet's martial sound, and bid them on
Whom nature arms for vengeance. But, alas!
That undistinguishing and deathful storm
Beats heaviest on th' exposed innocent!
And they that stir its fury while it raves
Stand at safe distance, send their mandates forth
Unto the mortal ministers that wait
To do their bidding. Ah! who then regards

The widow's tears, the friendless orphan's cry?
And famine, and the ghastly train of war,
They, in the pomp and pride of victory,
Rejoicing o'er the desolated earth,
As at an altar wet with human blood,
And flaming with the fire of cities burnt,
Sing their mad hymns of triumph, hymns to God,
O'er the destruction of his gracious works!
Hymns to the Father o'er his slaughter'd sons!
Detested be their sword, abhorr'd their name,
And scorn'd the tongues that praise them!
Happier thou,
Of peace and science friend, hast held thy course
Blameless and pure; and such is thy renown!
And let that secret voice within thy breast
Approve thee. Then shall these high souuds of praise
Which thou hast heard, be as sweet harmony
Beyond this concave to the starry sphere,
Ascending where the spirits of the blest
Hear it well pleas'd. For fame can enter heav'n,
If truth and virtue lead her; else, forbid,
She rises not above this earthly spot,
And then her voice, transient and valueless,
Speaks only to the herd: with other praise
And worthier duty may she tend on thee,
Follow thee still with honour such as time
Shall never violate, and with just applause,
Such as the wise and good might love to share.

ADDITIONAL
FACTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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HORRORS OF WAR.

WAR OF THE PALATINATE.—"De Longes ravaged the Palatinate without even sparing the tombs of the dead. The French soldiers on this occasion seem to have been actuated by the most brutal inhumanity. They butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houses, rifled the churches, and murdered the priests at the altars. They broke open the Electoral vault, and scattered the ashes of that illustrious family about the streets.

"They set fire to different quarters of the city; they stripped about 15,000 of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, and drove them naked into the castle, that the garrison might be the sooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like cattle in the open air, with-

out food or covering, tortured between the horrors of their fate and the terrors of a bombardment.

"When they were set at liberty in consequence of the forts being surrendered, a great number of them died along the banks of the Neckar, from cold, hunger, anguish, and despair.

"These enormous cruelties, which would have disgraced the arms of a Tartarian freebooter, were acted by the express command of Louis the Fourteenth of France, who has been celebrated by so many venal pens not only as the greatest monarch, but also as the most polished prince of Christendom."—*Smollett's Works*, vol. vii. p. 200.

For a picture of the horrors of war, see Arnold's fourth lecture on Modern History, in which he describes the miseries endured by the Genoese when besieged by the Austrians, and blockaded by the English under Lord Keith.

RELIGIOUS WARS.

"In fighting for Christ," says St. Bernard, in his address to the Templars, "the kingdom of Christ is obtained." "The sword," says the prophet Mahomet, on the other hand, "is the

key of heaven and of hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting, and of prayer. Whosoever falls in battle his sins are forgiven him in the day of judgment. Fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." The Mahometans and Knights Templars were well matched in fanaticism.

PROSPECT OF A WAR WITH FRANCE.

"We are constantly told that France cannot be easy till she is rounded off by the Rhine; that France must have Belgium; that France should have the ascendant in Spain. Why—good Heaven! has not this principle of appropriation been tried, and found wanting? Have Italy, Germany, Spain—has even little Switzerland, escaped French clutches? and is not the least of the plundered more prosperous than their former plunderers?

"France has every element of greatness within herself; but a very large part of her active mind has unfortunately acquired the habit of looking for greatness any where except at home; and the very consequences of this habit have helped to confirm it.

"The evil effects of wars have left discontent which seeks for fresh wars. The great military outburst of France (it is said) will come one of these days: but if it does come, it will add one more lesson to those which France has received, from Louis the Fourteenth to Napoleon; and which, if these prophets are true, she has received in vain. Victory or defeat will leave the victors exhausted in any future contest, as it did before, and will only have made a fresh subtraction from her means of happiness and solid greatness."—*Globe Newspaper*, Aug. 3, 1839.

INEQUALITY OF NUMBERS IN WAR.

In a note on the 21st verse of the 20th chapter of Judges, it is said: "On common military principles there is nothing to occasion surprise in the defeat of an army of 400,000 men (the Israelites) by one of about 27,000 men (the Benjamites). It has been the great mistake of Orientalists generally, in all ages, to calculate their prospects of success rather by the numbers than by the efficiency of the men they can bring into action."

PRIVATE WARS.

"The abuse of private wars was carried to so great an extent in Germany in the 15th century, that not only sovereigns and states engaged in hostilities from interest and revenge, but the lesser barons, and even associations of tradesmen and domestics, sent defiances to each other on the most ridiculous pretences, and in a manner scarcely credible in the present day. We find a declaration of war from a private individual, Henry Mayenburg, against the Emperor himself: another, from the Lord of Prauenstein against Frankfort, because a young lady of the city refused to dance with his uncle: another, in 1450, from the baker and domestics of the Margrave of Baden against Eslingen, Reuslingen, and other imperial cities: another, in 1462, from the baker of the Count Palatine Louis against the cities of Augsburgh, Ulm, and Rothwell: one, in 1471, from the shoe-blacks of the university of Leipsig against the Provost and some other members: and one, in 1477, from a cook in Eppenstein, with his scullions, dairy-maids, and dish-washers, against Otho, Count of Solms."—*Coxe's Austria*, vol. i. p. 306.

An Archbishop of Cologne erected a castle, and having been asked, by the person to whom he entrusted it, how he should support himself and his followers, replied, that there were four highways in the neighbourhood, and he was at *war* with all passengers.

WAR FROM PARTY SPIRIT.

The Spanish war, in the time of George II., was the fruit of party spirit. The minister, Walpole, resisted it as long as he could; but was driven into it by his political enemy, Sir W. Pulteney, of whom the Edinburgh Reviewer, of April, 1840, says: "To drive the State into hostile enterprises; to inflame the natural animosities of the giddy vulgar; to plunge all Europe into the calamities of war about nothing—this was the darling object of his most strenuous exertions—this the favourite theme which called forth all his powers—this the vile, accursed ground upon which the choicest flowers of his great genius were lavished. And yet the purpose of all this profligate violence being once compassed in the destruction of his rival, the authors of the Spanish war, with a candour which would

be truly commendable if it were not shameless effrontery, soon after confessed that they had not the shadow of a ground for all their attacks upon pacific measures, and all their base patronage of *war.*"

LUDICROUS MOTIVE OF WAR.

The following ludicrous reason for going to war is found in Darwin's *Journey of Travels in South America and the Southern Ocean*, p. 499:

"At the present day, there is much less warfare. When Europeans first traded here, muskets and ammunition far exceeded in value any other article: now they are in little request, and are indeed often offered for sale. Among some of the Southern tribes there is still much hostility. I heard a characteristic anecdote of what took place there some time ago:

"A missionary found a chief and his tribe in preparation for war; their muskets clean and bright, and their ammunition ready. He reasoned long on the inutility of the war, and the little provocation that had been given for it. The chief was much shaken in his resolution, and

seemed in doubt; but at length it occurred to him that a barrel of his gunpowder was in a bad state, and that it would not keep much longer. This was brought forward as an unanswerable argument for the necessity of immediately declaring war: the idea of allowing so much good gunpowder to spoil was not to be thought of: this settled the point."

COURTESY IN WAR.

"In the midst of the firing, a white flag having been exhibited in the town, hostile proceedings were immediately suspended; and on a boat proceeding from the shore, the Indian mail from Bagdad was landed, with Suleiman Pacha's compliments to the Admiral. The latter on his part forwarded a letter of warm thanks to the Pacha, accompanied by a packet of wine, taken in an Egyptian vessel, directed to Suleiman. *Firing was then resumed.*" —*Hunter's Expedition to Syria.*

PARSIMONY IN WAR.

"In conversation one day with a half-pay

officer, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor at St. Petersburgh, upon the state of the sick list among the Guards, I was not a little astonished at his telling me that mercury and quinine were medicines too expensive to be given to the men; and when I adverted as politely as I could to the inhumanity as well as false economy of such a system, he replied, 'Ah, mon cher, a soldier in Russia costs nothing.'"—*Jesse's Travels in Circassia.*

PRAISE OF PEACE-MINISTERS.

"Nothing is more useful for both the people and their rulers than to dwell on the excellence of those statesmen whose lives have been spent in furthering the useful, the sacred work of peace. The thoughtless vulgar are ever prone to magnify the brilliant exploits of arms, which dazzle ordinary understandings, and prevent any account being taken of the cost and the crime that so often are hidden in the guise of success. All merit of that kind is sure of passing current for more than it is worth; and the eye is turned indifferently upon, and even scornfully from, the unpretending virtue of the true friend of his species, the minister who devotes all his cares to

stay the worst of crimes that can be committed, the last of calamities that can be endured by man. To hold up such men as Walpole in the face of the world as the model of a wise, a safe, an honest ruler, becomes the most sacred duty of an impartial historian; and, as has been said of Cicero and of eloquence by a great critic, that statesman may feel assured that he has made progress in the science to which his life is devoted who shall heartily admire the public character of Sir R. Walpole, the determined friend of peace." —*Edinburgh Review*, April, 1840.

WAR POETS AND PEACE POETS.

"Le genie d'Homere, exaltant dans ses vers immortels les exploits d'Achille et des vainqueurs de Troie, fut peut-etre (sans qu'il eut pu le prevoir) l'inspirateur et le complice des crimes d'Alexandre, de César, et de beaucoup d'autres conquerans qui ont ensanglantè la terre."—*Julien Emploi du Temps.* (Vide Southey's Poem on the Battle of Blenheim.)

> "Never may from our souls one truth depart,—
> That an accursed thing it is to gaze
> On prosperous tyrants with a dazzled eye;

Nor, touch'd with due abhorrence of their guilt
For whose dire end tears flow and blood is spilt,
And justice labours in extremity,
Forget thy weakness, upon which is built,
O wretched man, the throne of tyranny."

Wordsworth.

STRANGE CALCULATIONS ON THE EFFECTS OF WAR.

Dr. Dick calculates that "since the creation of the world 14,000,000,000 of beings have fallen in the wars which man has waged against his fellow creature—man. If this amazing number of men were to hold each other by the hand, at arm's length, they would extend over 14,583,330 miles of ground, and would encircle the globe upon which we dwell 608 times! If we allow the weight of a man to be on an average one cwt. (and that is, if anything, below the mark), we shall come to the conclusion that 69,250,000 tons of human flesh have been mangled, disfigured, gashed, and trampled under foot. The calculation will appear more striking when I state that if the fore-fingers only of every one of those 14,000,000,000 human beings were to be laid out in a straight line, they would reach more than 600,000 miles beyond the

moon; and that if a person were to undertake to count the number, allowing 19 hours to the day and 7 days to the week, and to number at the rate of 6,000 per hour, it would employ that person 336 years: and awful is the consideration that 3,500,000 pipes of human blood have been spilt in battles."

MOTIVES FOR THE ABOLITION OF WAR.

Are there wanting MOTIVES for a simultaneous effort among Christians to abolish this ruthless practice? Some of these are found in—its expense; the number of its victims; the character of the system; and the value of human life.

As to its *expense.* To select a fragment only of our own history:—Of 127 years, terminating 1815, England spent 65 in seven successive wars, during which she was obliged to borrow 834 millions sterling; and raised by taxes 1499 millions more: thus forming a total of 2023 millions! Our National Debt of 800 millions, with all its fiscal burthens and commercial restrictions, is the permanent fruit of this enormous expenditure. The *number of human beings* who have been sacrificed at the shrine of Moloch must

have been so great as almost to defy calculation. Edmund Burke, in his "Vindication of Natural Society," has, nevertheless, made a computation of this kind; and his estimate is, that, by means of war and its horrid concomitants, not less than 35,000,000,000 human beings have been taken out of existence!—As to the *moral character* of the system, it is correctly described by a clergyman of the Church of England, who says: "War is the most fruitful parent of crime of all the evils with which the earth is afflicted. Actions which, in peace, are denounced by the universal voice of civilized man as the most execrable vices, are, in war, passed over as of ordinary occurrence, or even are promoted into virtues. Falsehood, lewdness, rapine, sabbath-breaking, murder, the destruction of the works of art and of the fruits of industry, are all consequences of war. A single campaign does more harm to the morals of a people than years of virtuous teaching can remedy. It familiarizes the national mind with vice; renders the victors selfish, and the vanquished base. It is a flame which bursts out unexpectedly, which consumes all before it; but the ravages whereof who can repair?"—The *value of life* is so self-evident, as to need only to be *adduced* as a

motive for attempting the abolition of a custom which, pre-eminently, cuts short the period of man's probation for eternity. It is strikingly illustrated in the efforts now making to purge our statute-law of capital punishments; efforts, by the way, which *à fortiori*, justify a similar course of untiring philanthropy in the case of war.

We have thus arrived, perhaps, at an anti-climax in our discussion. But our object is, not so much to declaim as to be practical. Something should be *done* in this matter. There is much inconsistency observable in Christian communities in the case of war. For instance, one large branch of the Church of Christ has for ages been praying "that it may please God to give to all nations unity, peace, and concord." But, with some honourable exceptions,—as in the cases of archbishop Secker and bishop Watson,—it may, without disrespect, be asked, what have the ministers and members of that Church ever *done* or *said* in conformity with this petition? With a similar limitation,—as in the instances of those eminent missionaries, the lamented Williams, and Mr. Medhurst,—the same inquiry may, with equal justice, be applied

to the other considerable bodies of Christians. God generally works by means—he condescends to use human instrumentalilty when exerted for purposes congenial to his revealed will. Who expects the world to be Christianized without sending forth missionaries? In short, God helps them who help themselves. In this view of the case, then, we dismiss the subject with calling upon all professors of the Christian religion not only to *pray* for universal peace, but by every means in their power to *labour* to discountenance a practice which, in the words of Erasmus, "loads men with guilt in proportion as it galls them with woe."

WASHINGTON'S SWORD.

"To his latest breath did this great patriot maintain the noble character of a captain, the patron of peace, and a statesman, the friend of justice. Dying, he bequeathed to his heirs the sword which he had worn in the war for liberty, and charged them never to take it from the scabbard but in self-defence, or in defence of their country and her freedom; and commanding them, when it should

thus be drawn, that they should never sheath it, or ever give it up: but prefer falling with it in their hands to the relinquishment thereof—words, the majesty and simple eloquence of which are not surpassed in the oratory of Athens or of Rome.

"It will be the duty of the historian and the sage, in all ages, to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more, a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and in virtue will be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."—*Lord Brougham's Life of Washington.*

A DIALOGUE ON WAR.

The French gentleman said, "he doubted not but that when I was in Italy I must have seen with rapture the great works of the Romans; their aqueducts and theatres, and their vast remains of columns, which exceed in magnitude any thing we dare to attempt,—their triumphal arches, which record the glory of their arms." I replied, that I saw these great works with astonishment, rather than pleasure; with grief,

rather than rapture. Their immense amphitheatres were the work of slaves taken in war, and their arches were insulting monuments of atrocious cruelties. The mere exhibition of men, as they appear in stone and marble, men as good and civilized as themselves, bound in chains at the wheels of their cars, was disgusting, and marks a spirit fit for devils rather than men. "What!" said he, "do you condemn the spirit of *military glory*, the most ardent of all enthusiasm, and the most exciting of human delights?" "I grant it must be very ardent; but I think the same delight might be produced by brandy, with less injury to our neighbour: not that I advocate the use of brandy; but of two evils, I think it a safer spirit than military glory." So we laughed, and he wondered to have found a being who considered glory as no better than delirium.—*Dialogue between J. S. Duncan and a Frenchman, in Paris, in the year* 1817.

RACINE'S CONDEMNATION OF WAR.

Racine was banished from court by Louis XIV., for having written, at the request of Mad. de Maintenon, against the miseries brought on

countries by expensive wars. He is said to have died of chagrin from this banishment.

PRUSSIAN WARS.

For many amusing reflections and illustrations of this subject, see an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1842, on Frederick the Great, said to be written by Macaulay. After many brilliant victories, and as many depressing defeats, after which Frederick rose, like Antæus, with refreshed vigour from his fall, the reviewer says:

"The fifth year was about to commence. It seemed impossible that the Prussian territories, repeatedly devastated by hundreds of thousands of invaders, could longer support the contest. But the king carried on war as no other European king ever carried on *war*, except the committee of public safety, during the great agony of the French Revolution. He governed his kingdom as he would have governed a besieged town, not caring to what extent property was destroyed, or the pursuits of civil life suspended, so that he did but make head against the enemy.

"As long as there was a man left in Prussia,

that man might carry a musket; as long as there was a horse left, that horse might draw artillery. The coin was debased, the civil functionaries were left unpaid, in some provinces civil government altogether ceased to exist: but there were still rye-bread and potatoes, there were still lead and gunpowder; and, whilst the means of sustaining and destroying life remained, Frederick was determined to fight it out to the very last."

UNJUST WARS.

Our recent war with China has been pronounced in Parliament (and was uncontradicted) to be "horribly unjust;" the main object being to draw a numerous and peaceable people on the other side the globe into the maelstrom of European diplomacy. Our Affghanistan war was equally indefensible.

Lieut. P—— has described in his letters the miseries inflicted by our troops on this weak and peaceable people in very glowing colours. We are considered by them in noother light than as barbarians, robbers, and pirates.

GREAT WARRIORS CONDEMN WARS.

Lord Hill, like the Duke of Wellington, on principle, was opposed to warfare. The truly valiant warrior laments the necessity for war, even when winning victories. When he heard of the successful results of the Indian and Chinese wars, he was so overcome, that he exclaimed, with tears of joy bursting from his eyes, "Thank God, I have lived to hear of these glorious victories, and to know that there is an end to war! horrid war!"

WAR A CRIME.

It will be admitted by all thoughtful and Christian minds that war is as great a crime as it is a curse. An eminent divine declares it to be, in all cases, "the harvest and the triumph of the first great murderer." On both sides of an exasperated contest the gentleness of Christianity can have no place in any bosom; nearly every heart is lighted up with fury, and breathes a vindictive purpose against a brother of the species. If we regard those who grapple with the last enemy and bite the dust, there surely is no form

of death, with its attending circumstances, so little in unison with what may be justly considered a preparation for eternity—a meet fitness for the judgment bar, and the fellowship of infinite purity and love—as the death of the warrior. The scene which he has chosen as the last is just that which congregates nearly all the forms of moral evil which are scattered at various distances of individual hatefulness over a world of wickedness. All the chiefs of Pandemonium are there, each clothed with his distinctive attributes. "The chief of many thronèd powers" leads the van. Every principle of evil has its personation, and is incarnate in some shape of fallen humanity. Murder, lust, and rapine, glare with fury upon their affrighted victims; they have but one object—ruin—hideous ruin. They call it "glory"—the worst demon of them all; or they baptize it "patriotism," by which they mean, not a generous and ennobling love of country, but a base compound of pride and selfishness. They say, it is for their hearths and altars; the former they desolate, the latter they profane. But what is really exhibited? Doomed multitudes, crowding tumultuously on our view, in all the forms of dismay, and vain

effort, and suffering, and death; a world of ghastly countenances, desperate struggles, lamentable cries, streaming blood, and expiring agonies; with the corresponding circumstances of fury and triumph, and the appropriate scenery of habitations burning and the land made desolate. Here the warrior gathers his laurels! This is the scene of his apotheosis!—*From the Atlas.*

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

"In Germany the population was sunk to a fourth by the thirty years' war. Augsburgh was reduced from 80,000 inhabitants to 18,000; in Berlin there were only 300 burghers left. The prosperity of the country was for a long period destroyed: not only did hands fail, and the workshops lie in ashes, but the spirit and diligence of trade were transferred to other hands.

"After thirty years of battles, burnings, murders, and diseases, Germany no longer looked like itself. The proud nation was changed into a miserable mob of beggars and thieves. Famishing peasants, cowardly citizens, lewd soldiers, rancorous priests, and effeminate nobles, were

the miserable remains of the great race that had perished."

THE WARLIKE SPIRIT A CURSE.

Poor is his triumph, and disgraced his name,
Who draws his sword for empire, wealth, or fame.
For him though wealth be blown on every wind,
Though fame announce him mightiest of mankind;
Though twice ten nations crouch beneath his blade;
Virtue disowns him, and his glories fade.
For him no prayers are heard, no pæans sung,
No blessings chaunted from a nation's tongue:
Blood marks the path to his untimely bier;
The curse of widows and the orphan's tear
Cry to high heaven for vengeance on his head,
Alive detested, and accurst when dead.

(From Bishop Butson's Love of our Country, an Oxford Prize Poem, 1771.)

WAR GENERATED BY DEMOCRACY.

"If the effect of war be considered in itself upon the immediate happiness or misery of the human race, it must appear the most unmitigated evil which the justice or wrath of Heaven has let loose upon guilty men.

"If we reflect that its object is to train mankind up to mutual slaughter, and direct the whole energies and powers of the human mind to the

destruction of the species, it is impossible to deny that it appears at first sight no less than a devastating scourge.

"Philosophers and philanthropists accordingly have concurred from the earliest times in regarding it in this light,—in deprecating mutual hostility and national passions as the most dreadful scourge of humanity. Sanguine hopes were entertained at the commencement of the French Revolution that a new era in this important particular had opened upon the species: that former wars, stimulated by the ambition of kings and the rivalry of ministers, would cease; and that, by the accession to power of the class who were the principal sufferers by hostilities, the disposition to wage them would at once be terminated. It had come to pass as a general axiom, that war was the consequence of monarchical and aristocratic governments, and would disappear with their removal; and general applause followed the humane sentiment of the poet,

> 'War is a game which, were their subjects wise,
> Kings would not play at.'

"But when the matter was put to the test, experience soon demonstrated—what had long been known to the few observers of historical

facts—that these expectations were entirely illusory, and that not only was the tendency to war no way diminished, but it was fearfully increased by the augmentation of popular power. Angry passions it was now found came to agitate, not only the rulers, but the masses of men: the interests of whole classes in one community came to be arrayed against those of the corresponding interests in another; and the "*multis utile bellum*" was found to meet with innumerable advocates in a period of revolutionary excitement and distress. Accordingly, the warlike passions never appeared so strong as in the newly-emancipated French people; and the longest, the bloodiest, and the most devastating war recorded in modern annals was the immediate consequence of the French Revolution.—*Alison*, vol. x., p. 985.

ALLEGED COMPENSATION FOR WAR.

"Whilst the subtle poison of human corruption spreads with fatal rapidity during the tranquillity and enjoyment of peace, the manly feelings, the generous affections, are nursed amidst the tumults and horrors of war; and though the actual agents in it may

become habituated to bloodshed and rapine, a compensation, and more than a compensation, arises in the noble and disinterested feelings which are generally drawn forth in the community. Perpetual war would transform men into beasts of prey; perpetual peace would reduce them to beasts of burden. The alternation of both is indispensable to the mixed tendencies to good and evil which exist in mankind, and mutual slaughter may be dispensed with when the seeds of corruption are extirpated from the human breast, but not till then"!!!—*Alison*, vol. x., p. 992.

WAR AND TAXES FROM 1660 TO 1843.

The first national debt was contracted in 1660, to pay for war. Successive wars have created successive loans, so that we have now contracted debts of 803 millions in loans, and raised 635 millions in direct taxes, making a total of 1438 millions for war, which have destroyed 3,950,000 men, 1,400,000 in those against Napoleon.

Our present interest to pay for our 803 millions of national debt and life annuities is nearly 29 millions and a half.

NAPOLEON'S WARS GREAT CRIMES.

"The comparison of Napoleon's wars to the judicial murders of Paris may seem unjust towards the former. But although the glory of war encircles its horrible atrocities with a false glare, which deceives us as to its bloodguiltiness, in what does the crime of Napoleon, when he sacrificed thousands of lives to his lust of foreign conquest, differ from that of Robespierre, when he sought domestic power by slaying hundreds of his fellow citizens? In one particular there is more atrocity in the crimes of the latter—they were perpetrated under the name and form of justice, whose sanctity they cruelly profaned: but, on the other hand, far more blood was spilt, far more wide-spreading and lengthened misery occasioned to unoffending provinces by the invasion of Spain, and Switzerland, and Russia, than by all the acts of the Committee, the Convention, and the Revolutionary Tribunal. Nor will mankind ever be free from the *scourge of war* until they learn to call things by their proper names; to give crimes the same epithets, whatever outward forms they may assume; and to regard with equal abhorrence the conqueror who slakes his

thirst of dominion with the blood of his fellow creatures, and the more vulgar criminal who is executed for taking the life of a wayfaring man that he may seize upon his purse."—*Ld. Brougham's Life of Carnot.—(Statesmen of Geo. III.* vol. ii., p. 269.)

WAR IN CHINA.

To the usual horrors of war in northern China was added the fierce desperation of the Mantcheu Tartars, who could not bear to appear dishonoured by defeat in the midst of a nation over which they had established the ascendency of conquest. These desperate men would take no quarter, and when driven from their posts *invariably proceeded to massacre their wives and children.* Many such scenes of horror are described by Lieutenant Ouchterlony in his account of the Chinese war.

RELIGIOUS WARFARE.

The spirit of Mahometanism is that of war against all who do not believe its doctrine; and he who loses his life in fulfilling this duty (if

unpaid) is promised the reward of a martyr. It has been said by some of their leading doctors that the Moslems are commanded to put to death all idolators who refuse to embrace El Islam, excepting women and children, whom they are to make slaves.

The Prophet said, "A class of my sect will always fight with the sword of religion, and will overcome their enemies, until Dajal shall fight with the last of them." He said, "Fight infidels with your riches—I mean, expend them in holy wars; and fight infidels with your persons, that you may be killed and wounded; and fight with your tongues, by abusing and execrating their idols." He said, "In the shade of scimetars Paradise is prefigured." He also said, "I swear by God, in whose hand is my life, that marching about morning and evening to fight for religion is better than the world, and whatever is in it."

These specimens sufficiently prove that Mohammed, after he had obtained power, did not limit the zeal of his followers to defensive war.

THE GAINERS BY WAR.

In a casual conversation lately with one of the

most eminent lawyers, statesmen, and authors of the present day, on the subject of war, I said, "The '*multis utile bellum*' was one of its great causes—for the gratification of martial glory in princes—for a provision for younger sons of the nobility and gentry—for contractors and newspaper writers, and *id genus omne.*"

"Yes," added he, "and the *usura vorax* is a not less powerful cause—the speculations of money-lenders who fan the flame of war to reap a harvest from its spoils."

WAR A DIRE MISCHIEF.

Warriors, says the poet, "load death's quiver with a crime;" on which, says Warburton, "I may not speak very intelligibly whilst I speak the language of poetry; but in plain English I look on war as the blackest mischief ever breathed from hell upon the fair face of the creation. It is not now for the surplice or the cloak—a very trifling quarrel—we are contending, but for deer skins or beaver skins, on which we are told our all is at stake."

NO WAR A JUST WAR.

"The corn waves green over the fields of Borodino, as it does over those of 'carnage-crowning Waterloo.' May they be the last monuments of the effusion of human blood! The days of battle are gone by in the West, though the sun rises red in the East. Armed aggression may be opposed by armed resistance; but a thirty years' war for the establishment of a creed, and a seven years' war of succession, will not return again in our times. It is curious, almost impossible to believe, that such words could have proceeded from the mouth of Bacon, that 'a just war is as wholesome to a nation as strong exercise to the body; it drains away superfluous humours.' The possessions in Africa are teaching this to the French; we may also experience something of the kind in our Eastern dominions and Chinese war: but neither of them come under the denomination of the *just* war, which is the saving clause of the Chancellor. It would be difficult to prove how that which is naturally productive of so much injustice can at any time be just."—*Life of a Travelling Physician*, vol. iii., p. 76.

NATIONAL ARBITRATION A DESIDERATUM.

"We daily make great improvements in natural, there is one I wish to see in moral philosophy—the discovery of a plan which would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throats."—*Franklin.*

CHRISTIANITY THE ANTAGONIST OF WAR.

"When the spirit of Christianity shall exert its proper influence over the minds of public men in their public capacities, war will cease throughout the Christian world."—*Bp. Watson.*

CIVIL WAR A GIGANTIC EVIL.

"All wars destroy the morals of mankind by habituating them to refer everything to force, and by necessitating them so often to dispense with the ordinary suggestions of sympathy and justice.

"But this is peculiarly the effect of civil wars, where the moral obligations before the contest have been more completely established, and have

yet, during the contest, with more than ordinary violence, been torn asunder; that regular occupation of the mind amid the common pursuits of life, those peaceful habits of thought which are so necessary to most of the virtues of the human character—all these, on occasions of civil war are most materially disturbed, and even sometimes destroyed; and the military virtues (high virtues, no doubt, but which have been always found compatible with the greatest licentiousness,) seem alone to survive.—*Smyth*, lect. vii., p. 34.

MOTIVES OF WARS.

"The wars of Europe were in their origin grand movements of nations. Impelled by necessity, by caprice, or some other cause, entire populations, sometimes numerous, sometimes mere bands, migrated from one territory to another. This is the general character of European wars until after the crusades at the end of the 13th century. At that epoch wars of a different character commenced almost equally different from modern wars. These were foreign wars, entered intonot by the people, but by their

rulers, who sought at the head of their armies adventures and dominions in foreign countries. They left their own states to plunge into the heart of Germany, Italy, or even Africa, without any other motive than their personal caprice. Almost all the wars of the 15th, and part of those of the 16th centuries are of this nature. What interest—I do not speak of a legitimate interest—but what motive merely had France to desire that Charles the Eighth should possess the kingdom of Naples? This war was evidently not undertaken from any consideration of policy: the king believed he had personal claims on the kingdom of Naples, and, urged by personal ambition, and in order to satisfy his personal desires, he attempted the conquest of a distant state, which was no advantage to the territorial convenience of his own kingdom; which, on the contrary, compromised his exterior power and his internal repose. The same thing may be said of the expedition of Charles the Fifth into Africa. The last war of this kind was the expedition of Charles the Twelfth against Russia.—*Guizot's Lectures on European Civilization*, p. 447.

A HERO, NOT TO BE ADMIRED.

"Merciful Heaven! and for the fruition of an hour's drunkenness of glory, from which they must awaken with heaviness, pain, and terror, men consume a whole crop of their kind at one harvest-home! Shame upon those light ones who carol at the feast of blood! And worse upon those graver ones who nail upon their escutcheon the name of great. God sometimes sends a famine, sometimes a pestilence, and sometimes a hero, for the chastisement of mankind; none of them surely for their admiration. Only some cause like that which scattered the mental fog of the Netherlands, and is preparing them for the fruits of freedom, can justify us in drawing the sword abroad."—*Landor's Conversations.*

OPIUM WAR IN CHINA.

O pium bellum!

"Our peaceable and moral government has not hesitated to plunge this country into a war the most iniquitous on record—a war with the least warlike nation of the earth, and therefore thought to be the most assailable—a war in defence of the opium traffic—a war to enforce the

right of destroying the morals and health of the subjects of the emperor of China by inundating that country with a moral and physical poison—a war to avenge the cause of smugglers against a government enforcing its own municipal laws—a war, in fine, which sacrifices the interests of legitimate commerce to contraband and felon traffic in a prohibited and pestilential poison."—*Morning Herald*, 1840.

WAR UNENDURABLE, BUT FOR ITS DISGUISE.

"War, disguise it as we may under all its pride, pomp, and circumstance, is but a great wholesale executioner. Its horrors would be unendurable but for the dazzling Bengal light called glory that we cast on its deluge of blood and tears; but for the gorgeous flags we wave—like veils before its grim and ferocious features—and the triumphant clangor of martial music with which we drown its shrieks and groans. A battle is a butchery; it smells of the shambles. War is a brain-bespattering, wind-pipe slitting art. Who would care to see its murderous tools, however well polished or tastefully arranged?—*Tour up the Rhine*, p. 322.

NAPOLEON AT A LOSS.

Captain Basil Hall, in his conversation with Napoleon Buonaparte at St. Helena, says: "Several circumstances respecting the Loo Choo people surprised him exceedingly; and I had the satisfaction of seeing him more than once completely perplexed, and unable to account for the phenomena which I related. Nothing struck him so much as their having no arms. 'Point d'armes,' he exclaimed; 'c'est à dire point de canons: ils ont des fusils?' 'Not even muskets,' I replied. 'Eh bien, donc, des lances, ou au moins des arcs and des flèches?' I told him they had neither one nor the other. 'Then poniards?' 'None.' 'Mais,' said Buonaparte, clenching his fist, and raising his voice to a loud pitch, 'mais sans armes comment se bat on?'

"I could only reply that, as far as we had been able to discover, they had never had any wars, but had remained in a state of internal and external peace. '*No wars!*' cried he, with a scornful and incredulous expression, as if the existence of any people without wars was a monstrous anomaly."

THE MILITARY SPIRIT A CURSE.

In a nation, as in an individual, self-estimation leads to irritable jealousy, unaccommodating and offensive haughtiness, selfishness, violence, injustice.

Its common direction is that of military glory; and, as far as such a principle is necessary to national defence and independence, it is indispensably requisite to a virtuous people. Far different has been in general its operation, as seen in the history of mankind; as seen in our Henrys and our Edwards. The kings and heroes of our land were transformed into destroyers and oppressors. Do not our wars in India and our war against China come under this sentence of condemnation?

AN UNEQUAL WAR.

In the battles of Homer, the only difference between the gods and men is that the latter are killed, but the former are not. It was nearly so in the contests of the Spaniards under Cortez and the Mexicans. Bernal Duez says, in one

battle 800 Mexicans lay dead on the field, and only 2 Spaniards were wounded.

AMELIORATION OF WAR, GOOD POLICY.

In whatever shape it comes, war must ever be the greatest calamity which nations can suffer.

Still, great as is this evil, it may be lessened or aggravated by the mode in which it is conducted; and he surely does no slight service to mankind who introduces into the deadly strife of warring nations rules of fair and honourable dealing—rules by which all useless cruelty is forbidden, and all personal and individual animosity is checked, if not utterly subdued.

It has been said, indeed, that in those who wish to diminish strife it is unwise to render the intercourse of warring armies less ferocious and destructive. By stripping war of its horrors it is supposed that we foster a warlike spirit, and invest the horrible business of slaughter with an attractive and deceiving character. If, indeed, we could hope to put an end to all war by making it terrible, then we might admit the justice of this argument; but of this happy state of universal peace we have no expectation: neither do

we believe that we should conduce to its attainment by creating and increasing ferocious habits amongst opposing nations. Cruelty begets cruelty; one atrocity creates another, by way of reprisal; and national animosity is kept alive and heightened by a desire to gratify personal hatred and revenge.—*Edinburgh Review*, Jan., 1842, p. 314.

DR. JOHNSON'S OPINION OF WAR.

Dr. Johnson laughed at Lord Kames's opinion that war was a good thing occasionally, as so much valour and virtue were exhibited in it. "A fire," said he, "might as well be thought a good thing. There are the bravery and address in the firemen extinguishing it; there is much humanity exerted in saving the lives and property of the poor sufferers: yet, after all, who can say that a fire is a good thing?"

CHARACTER OF A CONQUEROR.

"A conqueror," said Gustavus Adolphus, "is one who, in his passion for glory, deprives himself and his subjects of all repose. He rushes

forward like a torrent, carrying desolation in his path, and filling the world with terror, misery, and confusion."

LOSSES IN VARIOUS BATTLES.

	Blenheim.		
British	12,000	French	40,000
	Ramillies.		
British	3,633	French	13,000
	Oudenarde.		
British	3,500	French	6,000
	Vittoria.		
British	700	French	3,000
	Corunna.		
British	800	French	2,000
	Talavera.		
British	6,268	French	8,794
	Busaco.		
British	1,300	French	4,800
	Orthes.		
British	2,300	French	1,400

The best troops in France have never been able to stand against British bayonets.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO—DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"The duke of Wellington stated that he considered Buonaparte did his duty in this glorious battle, and fought it with infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery; and, in ascribing the victory to the superior physical force and constancy of British soldiers, he added, never had he fought so hard for victory, and never, from the gallantry of the enemy, had he been so near beaten. During the action the gallant duke was everywhere to be found encouraging, guiding the troops, and, like the genius of the storm, borne upon its wings, directing its thunders where to burst. This contest raised the glory of England to its highest pitch, and gave the last and most decisive proof that in every age, and in every country, under every disadvantage of circumstances, numbers, and situations, from the days of Cressy and Agincourt to the present time, by land and sea, the British have ever been victorious over their ancient and presumptuous foes. The French had persuaded Europe, as well as themselves, that Buonaparte was the greatest military genius of past or present times; that his generals were all perfect tactitians; and that the

troops of the grande nation were the best in the world. This opinion was at its height when the duke of Wellington commenced his glorious and unparalleled career in Portugal and Spain; but every operation of the British army under his command tended to remove the film from the eyes of our too vain antagonist, and also satisfied our own troops, as well as the whole world, that the dormant energies and innate courage of British soldiers needed but the proper stimulant and a fair field to re-act the valiant deeds of their ancestors, who had emblazoned in the pages of immortality the actions of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, as proud beacons for their posterity, who have proved themselves apt scholars in acquiring military fame, and can with satisfaction point to the records of the victories of Marlborough in the last age, and also to those in the present century of his unconquered and perfect successor, who never attacked the French without defeating them; who, in retreating, retired in such order as neither to raise the hopes of the enemy, nor abate those of his own troops; who never gave an opportunity, and never lost one; whose movements were so rapid as even to deceive and astonish the active French; who foiled

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general after general, and defeated army after army, and captured fortress after fortress; and who exhibits to an admiring world and a grateful nation the rare union of a true Christian, ever victorious commander, and upright statesman—the immortal Wellington. Truly, indeed, may the talented historian assert, 'his campaigns were sanctified by the cause; they were sullied by no cruelties, no crimes; the chariot wheels of his triumphs were followed by no curses; and on his death-bed he may remember his victories amongst his good works.'"—*United Service Magazine*, Feb., 1842.

CIVIL WAR.

The following is the reflection of an eye witness of the first blow struck in the grand rebellion in England:

"This is the beginning of the civil war, being the first stroke that hath been struck, and the first bullet that hath been shot; but God knows when the end will be, or when the troubles of this kingdom will come to a period. Many thousands, I doubt not, will lose their lives before this kingdom be settled in peace and amity, as it hath

been formerly; *for no man knows the cruelty of war but those that have felt and tried it; for when that time cometh, many a child will be fatherless, and many a poor wife husbandless.* But God of his great mercy stop the sword from going any further; and as it is but a little way drawn, do, Lord, I beseech thee, sheath it again before that it be drawn any further, so that by these means the walls of Sion may not be beaten down or destroyed."

History teaches us how much bloodshed and misery of every kind followed this first blow. May we take warning from the awful lesson, and in Great Britain and Ireland avoid that greatest of all curses which can fall on any nation—a civil war, from which all true patriots will say, "Good Lord, deliver us!"

REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

"Louis the Fourteenth's reign," says Dr. Millingen, "like that of most conquerors, was equally divided between repeated successes and failures. His arms were triumphant so long as he fought to obtain the natural limits of France, which to this day enjoys the fruit of his conquests:

but fortune forsook his banners as soon as he drew his sword to level the Pyrenees. Is not this equally a picture of Napoleon Buonaparte? His reign commenced in glory, and terminated in humiliation; the prestige of authority took wing with that of victory.

"When the grand monarque died, the monarchy may be said to have descended into its sepulchre; and the people, who had once trembled in his presence, insulted his ashes; whilst the parliaments, into whose halls he once entered booted and spurred, avenged themselves by trampling on his will. It was, in truth, the protection he afforded to literature and the patronage with which he honoured distinguished men of letters, that acquired him the surname of 'great.' The Mecænas of his age, he was entitled to the distinction, and it may be truly said of him that France owed to him her knowledge of literature, as Asia owed her acquaintance with Grecian superiority to Alexander."

BORDER WARS.

"If Mexico believes herself able to re-subjugate Texas, her right to make the effort will not

be denied. On the contrary, if she chooses to invade our territory with that purpose, the President, in the name of the people of all Texas, will bid her welcome. It is not against a war with Mexico that Texas would protest. This she deprecates not. She is willing at any time to stake her existence as a nation upon the issue of a war conducted upon Christian principles.

* * * * *

"It is alone against the unholy, inhuman, and fruitless character it has assumed, and still maintains, which violates every rule of honourable warfare, every precept of religion, and sets at defiance even the common sentiments of humanity, against which she protests, and invokes the interposition of those powerful nations which have recognised her independence. Mexico has been depredating on the property of our exposed and defenceless frontier—murdering the inhabitants in cold blood, or forcing them away into a loathsome and too often fatal captivity—inciting the numerous tribes of hostile Indians who reside along our northern frontier to plunder our exposed settlements—stimulating them to the most cruel and barbarous massacres, and inhuman butcheries even of our defenceless women and

children."—*From Van Zandt's Letter to Mr. Calhoun, in reference to the annexation of Texas to the United States of North America.*

INGENIOUS PREVENTION OF A WAR.

"Bernadotte, the late king of Sweden, wishing to cut through with the sword a knot of difficulties entwined by Norway in opposition to his projects, he determined to send his son Oscar with an army against the rebels, and reduce them to submission. The council of state, however, objected to the measure; but the king, being irritated by a warm debate, abruptly left the council, mounted his horse, and rode off at full gallop into the country. Arriving at the border of a dense forest, he was stopped by an old woman, in grotesque and tattered garments, with her hair floating in disorder. 'What do you want with me?' asked the king. The witch calmly and solemnly replied, 'If Oscar goes out to fight in the war which you meditate, he will not give, but receive the first stroke.' Bernadotte, struck with the apparition and the words pronounced, turned his horse, and rode back in thoughtful mood to his palace. The next morn-

ing, with a countenance that showed he had passed a sleepless night, he went to the council, and said, 'I have changed my mind. We will negociate for a peace; but it must be on honourable terms.'

"The truth was that some of the council, who knew the superstitious foible of the mind of this great man, made it thus serve the cause of reason, justice, and humanity."

ON DUELLING.

SINGLE combats have, no doubt, taken place in all countries and at all times, under the influence of malevolent passions; but the modern practice of duelling by challenges and seconds, &c., seems to have owed its origin to the northern nations, with whom it was the custom not only to decide insults and injuries but civil suits by an appeal to arms, from which none were exempt but women, the sick, young men under 20, old men above 60, cripples, idiots, and ecclesiastics, who fought by proxy. The general recourse to duels on points of honour is said to have arisen from Charles V.'s challenge of Francis I.; which, after all, ended in mutual scurrilities. From that time duels became affairs of ordinary occurrence, not only among military men, but citizens in the other classes of life. Several sovereigns have endeavoured to put a stop to the practice, but in vain.

Frederic II. of Prussia said, he would give permission to fight duels in particular cases, but that a gibbet should be erected on the battle ground, and the survivor should be hanged immediately. This practice absolutely prevailed in Burgundy in the twelfth century. The editor of the *Morning Herald* thinks the treadmill would be the most effectual remedy for duelling:

"The majority of duellists," he says, "undoubtedly become so from a fear of being the objects of ridicule or contempt; and it would appear, therefore, to follow, that the best preventative to duelling would be to make the position of those who resort to it ridiculous or contemptible. If the giving a challenge, or an insult equivalent to a challenge, subjected the parties concerned to some certain punishment, of a nature that no gentleman would, without loss of honour, undergo; the degrading nature of the consequences might prevent the commission of the crime that would render those consequences inevitable. The treadmill has been half-jestingly proposed as a penalty, which, if attached to duelling, would be efficacious in preventing it. We think that *it is well worth*

the trial; for it is, at all events, a punishment that the tribunals would not shrink from inflicting, though it is one from which men of honour would recoil with instinctive abhorrence."

The translation of an eloquent essay on Duelling, by J. B. Salaville, was published, some years ago, by the learned and ingenious Rev. E. Mangin, one of the few authors of whom this city can boast.

It calls on governments to abolish this insane practice, by their most important duty as conservators of the lives of their subjects; for there is no real liberty if life and limb are not protected from continual alarm and danger. The appalling effects of some recent duels are strikingly related in the preface; and the extremely absurd origin of several are mentioned by Mons. Salaville.

One is of St. Foix, a celebrated French author, who having casually remarked to an officer, who was drinking some sugared water, that this was but a bad dinner, gave such offence that the officer resented the remark in very angry language. Mons. St. Foix repeated his opinion in nearly the same words. This was construed to be a direct insult: swords were

immediately drawn, and St. Foix was wounded, but not mortally. The affair being ended, they shook hands according to custom: but St. Foix said, with great solemnity, "You know you might have killed me; but you must allow, nevertheless, that a glass of sugared water would be but a bad meal for dinner."

Many causes of duels, not less absurd than this, might be told, and many of wars also; but, it is much to be feared, that neither will be suppressed till the standard of Christian feeling, which so strongly militates against all war (but a war with our evil passions), can be generally raised and diffused throughout society.

Dr. Millingen, in his two very interesting volumes on Duelling (published in 1841), says, "Duels were unknown amongst the ancients, however acute and fastidious might have been their feelings of what is called honour and the duties which it imposes. The lie, the blow, the most slanderous abuse, were not then considered a stain upon a man's character, requiring an appeal to arms in order to verify the old saying, that the dead are always in the wrong. When Eurybiades raised his stick against Themistocles, the youthful hero merely replied, 'Strike, but

listen to me.' Lycurgus did not deem it necessary to avenge the blow he had received from Alcander, although it deprived him of an eye; nor did Cæsar bring Cato to an account for the ridicule he heaped upon him in the senate. Agrippa, one of the bravest chiefs of Augustus, allowed the son of Cicero to throw a cup at his head; and it appears that this rude custom often appeared at their festive boards. The Roman law clearly stated that a blow did not dishonour—'Ictus fustium infamiam non importat.' Christian IV. of Denmark answered a defiance of Charles IX. of Sweden by strongly advising him to take a dose of hellebore: and Charles Gustavus, when similarly circumstanced with Christian of Denmark, simply replied that he only fought in good company. In our own days, Gustavus IV. challenged Napoleon; and the only reply he received from the French emperor was that he would send him a fencing-master as his plenipotentiary, with whom he might arrange the proceeding. Sully says, 'Duellists have revived the base profession of gladiators, and rendered themselves more contemptible and hateful than the unfortunates who bore that name.'"

Dr. Millingen continues, in vain did Henry IV. issue the most positive edicts against duelling: his commands were unheeded, and his humane intentions invariably set at nought. From his accession to the throne, in 1589, until 1607, it was calculated that not less than 4000 gentlemen were killed in duels: and we find that, in a journal of the 8th of August, 1606, was to be read the following paragraph—"Last week, we had in Paris four assassinations and three duels; no notice having been taken of these events." The desperate nature of these bloody feuds was such that whole families were destroyed. Henry IV. is said to have granted 14,000 pardons for duels, in spite of the severity of his edicts against them. Sully observes on this subject, that "the facility with which the king forgave duels tended to multiply them; and hence these fatal examples pervaded the court, the town, and the kingdom." Perefix, in his Life of Henry IV., says that the madness of duels did seize the spirits of the nobility and gentry so much, during this reign, that they lost more blood by each other's hands in time of peace than had been shed by their enemies in battle!

In fact, these royal edicts, like many other criminal laws, defeated their own intention by their severity, which would have rendered their application as ferocious as the offences which they were to punish: they were thus rendered illusive in practice, however praiseworthy they might have been in theory, the one neutralizing the operation of the other.

Some men have been so bold as to decline challenges on religious principle and obedience to the law; such was Mons. de Reuly, who, having refused to fight a duel, was waylaid by his antagonist and a second. He wounded and disarmed both, took them to his house, procured surgical attendance for them, restored their swords, told them he would never divulge their attack on him, and kept his word; nor did he ever after speak of the transaction, even to the servant who had been present at the affair.

In the year 1651, a clergyman of the name of Olier, founder of the congregation of St. Sulpice, conceived a plan of supplying the insufficiency of the law by putting honour in opposition to itself. With this view he projected an association of gentlemen of tried valour, who, by subscribing an engagement to which the

solemnity of an oath was to be added, obliged themselves never to send or accept a challenge, and never to serve as seconds in a duel. The marquis de Fenelon, to whom the famous archbishop of Cambray owed his education and rise in the Church, was at the head of this association. On the Sunday of the Pentecost, the members assembled in the church of St. Sulpice, and placed in the hands of Mons. Olier a solemn instrument, expressing their firm and unalterable resolution never to be principals or seconds in a duel; and, moreover, to discourage the baneful practice to the utmost of their power. However, it appears that neither this, nor the king's determination to forward the views of this praiseworthy association, nor the exertions of its respectable members, nor the severe edicts (especially that of the edit des duels in 1670), could totally eradicate the prejudice that maintained the evil.

Even the peaceable Fontaine,—the poet who was proverbially called, "le bon Fontaine,"—in compliance with the fashion of the day, thought it necessary to call out an officer who, he was informed, was intriguing with his wife. The officer soon disarmed the poet; but said, since

his visits had been the occasion of scandal, he would from that hour cease to call at his house. "Le bon" was so affected with the sincere explanation his antagonist gave him of his conduct, that he not only insisted the captain should continue his visits, but swore he would fight him again if he discontinued them.

In England, since 1760, 200 duels have been fought. In three, both combatants were killed; in 80, one of them: in all, 120 were wounded. There were 20 trials for murder in duels: four were found guilty, and two hanged. The duke of York, the duke of Richmond, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Wellington; prime ministers—Pitt, Fox, and Canning; Sheridan, Burdett, lord Winchelsea, &c.; fought in duels. In France, cardinal de Guise and cardinal de Retz stained their holy garments in single combats.

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